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# Inquiry into the Sources of the „Cursor Mundi.“

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## Inaugural-Dissertation

welche mit Genehmigung der

**hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Breslau**

behufs Erlangung der philosophischen Doctorwürde

**Dienstag, den 29. April 1884, Mittags 12 Uhr**

**in der Aula Leopoldina**

gegen die Herren Opponenten

Dr. phil. **Julius Aust**

Dr. phil. **Hermann Neufert**

öffentlich vertheidigen wird

**Hugo Haenisch**

Schlesier.



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Separatabdruck aus den Prolegomena zu Rev. Richard  
Morris' Ausgabe des Cursor Mundi in den Publikationen  
der Early English Text Society; daselbst wird auch die  
Fortsetzung vorliegender Arbeit erscheinen

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Herrn Professor Dr. Eugen Kölbing

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INQUIRY INTO

THE SOURCES OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI."

By DR. HAENISCH.





## INQUIRY INTO THE SOURCES OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI."

THE purpose of the following essay is to find out the sources from which the author of the *Cursor Mundi* drew his information. As the four MSS. of the *Cursor* agree with one another almost word for word, it does not much matter which of them we choose for our quotations. I prefer the Cotton MS., because it is pretty complete, and has preserved the northern dialect. Ten-Brink<sup>1</sup> supposes the following books, beside Holy Writ, to have been used by the poet: Biblical commentators and homilists, apocryphal books, as the *Pseudo-evangelium Matthæi*, *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ*, *Evangelium Nicodemi*, and perhaps Robert Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour*. This enumeration, however, which only refers to the Christian period, is, when compared with the various contents of the *Cursor*, neither exhaustive nor accurate enough. From a treatise of Dr. Robert Reinsch<sup>2</sup> we learn indeed that some passages of the *Pseudo-evangelium Matthæi* were certainly known to the author of the *Cursor Mundi*. But I do not think any one else has said a word about this question, which, considering the importance of the poem, undoubtedly deserves our full attention. I have therefore taken it up.

### I.

#### PETRUS COMESTOR'S *HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA*.

In the Latin religious literature of the Middle Ages, there is a book which, owing to its careful and terse wording, was often made a source for religious writings. I mean the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, which was composed between 1169 and 1175. As it has been clearly proved<sup>3</sup> that an earlier English poem, called *Genesis and Exodus*, is founded almost wholly on the first part of this work, the author of the *Cursor*, who treated the same subject, is very likely to have made use of the same widely-known original.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1877. Bd. I. p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Pseudo-evangelien von Jesus' und Maria's Kindheit in der germanischen und romanischen Literatur*. Halle, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Ten-Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Lit.*, p. 274; Kölbing, in *Engl. Studien*, III. p. 273 ff.; Fritzsche, in *Anglia*, V. p. 43 ff.

Omitting all the passages which the *Cursor* has in common with Scripture, since they cannot afford us any evidence, I shall now set forth the most strikingly corresponding passages in the *Historia Scholastica*<sup>1</sup> (= H. Sch.) and the *Cursor* (= C.).

The very first lines contain a remark, not found in the Vulgate, concerning the four elements:

C., l. 355 ff.  
 þis elementz þat al thinges bindes  
 Four er þai, als clerkes findes.  
 þe neþermast es watur and erth,  
 þe thrid es air, and fir þe ferth.

P. C., H. Sch., ch. 1, p. 1055 C.  
 et in principio natura quosdam atomos  
 solidavit in terram, alios in aquam, alios  
 in aëre, alios in ignem.

Much more characteristic is the following passage:

C., l. 713—16.  
 Quen sathan sagh þat he was chosin  
 To win þe blis he had forlosin,  
 Sorful bicom þat fals file,  
 And thought how he moght man biwile;

H. Sch., ch. 21, p. 1072 B.  
 Lucifer enim dejectus a paradiso spiri-  
 tum, invidit homini, quod esset in pa-  
 radiso corporum, sciens si faceret eum  
 transgredi, quod et ille ejiceretur.

The region where paradise was situated is mentioned in the same place in both works:

C., l. 1006.  
 In erth toward þe est it standes

H. Sch., ch. 13, p. 1067 A.  
 . . . paradisum in Eden ad orientem.

Adam's mourning for Abel during a hundred years, his vow to keep apart from his wife, and the breach of it in consequence of God's order, C., l. 1191—1199, are found in the H. Sch., ch. 25, p. 1076 C, and 29, p. 1080 A.

Adam was blessed with thirty sons and as many daughters, l. 1216—17 = H. Sch., ch. 29. Though we find the same notice in a Latin legend, called *Vita Adæ et Evæ*,<sup>2</sup> the poet cannot have borrowed it from this book, for the account of Adam's life differs materially from the *Cursor*:

C., l. 1469—70.  
 He was þe first þat letters fand,  
 And wrot sum bokes wit his hand.

H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1081 A. Add. 1.  
 Henoch quasdam litteras invenit, et  
 quosdam libros scripsit.

C., l. 1471.  
 To paradis quik was he tan.

H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1080 D.  
 et transtulit illum Deus in paradisum  
 voluptatis.

On Doomsday, Enoch will return with Elias: C., l. 1473—74 = H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1080 D. With Noah, ends the first age of the world: C., l. 1491—92 = H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1081 A.

<sup>1</sup> *Patrologiæ Cursus completus*, ed. Migne, tom. cxcviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Adæ et Evæ*. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Wilhelm Meyer. Aus den Abhandlungen der k. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften. I. Cl. XIV. Bd. III. Abth. München, 1879.

C., l. 1501.

Til him was spused calmana.

C., l. 1523—25.

A sister had þis breþer alsua,  
 And sco was heiten noema;  
 Scho was þe formest webster . . .

C., l. 1513—14.

þis lameth was cald lameth þe blind,  
 Caym he slogh wit chaunge, we find;

And

C., l. 1533—38.

Tua pilers þai mad, o tile þe tan,  
 þe toþer it was o merbul stan;  
 þair craftes al þat þai moght min,  
 þai put þam in þeir pilers tuin;  
 þe stan, egain watur for to last;  
 Again þe fire, þe tile, þat it ne brast;

C., l. 1574—5.

þe toþers wijf lai be þe broþer;  
 þair cursnes was noght unkid,

C., l. 1627—30.

Fiue hundret yeir had þan noe  
 Quen he had gotten his suns thre;  
 þe first was sem, cham was the toþeir,  
 And Japhet hight þat yonges[t] broþer.

C., l. 1677—8.

Fiueten on heght, þat es þentent,  
 Fra grund unto þe tabulment;

In the *Cursor* the measure is expressed in *ellen* (l. 1675). From other similar statements of measure, given also by the Vulgate, it is evident that one ell is the same as two cubiti.

In describing the arrangement of the different rooms of the ark, Peter Comestor quotes several traditions, one of which agrees with the statement in the *Cursor*:

C., l. 1691—1700.

In þe ouermast stage þi self sal be,  
 þe fouzules alpernest be þe;  
 Siben efter alpernest hand,  
 þe meke beistes sal haue þair stand,  
 þat es, þai þat er tame and mild,  
 And under þam sal stand þe wild;  
 And þou sal alsua mak a boure  
 For to hald in þi wormestore;  
 In þe boþem sal be na stall,  
 For al þeir filth sal þedir fall.

H. Sch., ch. 27, p. 1078 B.

. . . cum uxore sua Chalmāna . . .

H. Sch., ch. 28, p. 1079 C.

Soror vero Tubalcain, Noema, quæ invenit artem variæ texturæ.

H. Sch., ch. 28, p. 1079 C.

Lamech vero vir sagittarius diu vivendo caliginem oculorum incurrit . . . casu interfecit Cain.

H. Sch., ch. 28, p. 1079 B.

. . . ne periret ars inventa, scripsit eam in duabus columnis, in qualibet totam, ut dicit Josephus, una marmorea, altera latericia, quarum altera non diluetur diluvio, altera non solvetur incendio.

H. Sch., ch. 31, p. 1081 C.

fili Cain abutebantur uxoribus fratrum suorum nimis fornicationibus.

H. Sch., ch. 31, p. 1081 B.

Noe vero cum quingentorum esset annorum, genuit Sem, Cham et Japhet.

H. Sch., ch. 32, note, p. 1083 C.

. . . quod dicitur arca habuisse triginta cubitos in altum . . . id est a fundo usque ad tabulatum.

H. Sch., ch. 32, p. 1083 B.

Alii vero has quinque cameras in altitudine sola disponunt, inferioremque et sentina stercoriam dicentes; secundam supra illam apothecariam, tertiam immitium animalium et serpentum . . . quartam mitium animalium; supremam hominum et avium.

In l. 1698, the word *vermestore* might lead us to believe a special room to have been set apart for reptiles (*worm*, *werm*). Two manuscripts show *warne* and *warnistoure*; but the Trinity MS. reads *wardestoure*, that is, the store-room, corresponding with *apothecaria* in the Latin work.

C., l. 1701—4.  
It sal be mikel wit-uten pere,  
In making sexsith tuenti yere;  
Sua lang terme i haue hem lent,  
pat wil come til a-mendement,

H. Sch., ch. 31, p. 1082 A.  
Et tamen prius quam disperdam eum,  
dabo ei tempus poenitudinis, si voluerit,  
eruntque dies illius ad poenitendum,  
scilicet centum et viginti annorum.

C., l. 1885—7. The remark, that the raven sat on the dead body of a drowned beast, is not mentioned in the Bible, but in the H. Sch., ch. 34, p. 1085 B: . . . *vel inueniens supernatans cadaver in aquis est illectus eo*.

C., l. 1917—20.  
A tuelfmoth was gan with pis;  
For als þat ilk dai I.-wijs  
Tuelfmo[n]th þat he ȝod þar-in,  
He self it euermar to min,

H. Sch., ch. 35, p. 1085 D.  
Et egressus est Noe cum universis, quæ  
erant cum eo, eadem die, qua ingressus  
fuerat, revoluto anno.

C., l. 1921—2. The poet himself says that he has used a work of peris (peirs):

Als peirs mayner, þe god clerk,  
Telles of þis in sumkin werk.

After considering the parallel passages above cited, we may justly identify this Peirs with Peter Comestor. The word *mayner*, I believe to be an anglicized form of the Latin *manducator*, a surname generally given to the canon and dean Peter Comestor. The other manuscripts give *maior* instead. This, I suppose to be a mistake of the copier.

Other corresponding passages are—

C., l. 2001—2.  
Quen Noe left þe schipp allan,  
He had sex hundret yeir and an,

H. Sch., ch. 34, p. 1085 C.  
Igitur sexcentesimo primo anno vitæ  
Noe . . . aperuit Noe tectum arcæ.

C., l. 2047—8.  
Herbi mai men understand,  
Was funden þan na breke in land.

H. Sch., ch. 36, p. 1087 A.  
Patet quia nondum homines utebantur  
femoralibus.

C., l. 2087—90. In apportioning the earth to the sons of Noah, God gives Sem Asia, Ham Africa, Japhet Europe. H. Sch., ch. 37, p. 1087 D: *Sem Asiam, Cham Africam, Japhet Europam sortitus est*.

C., l. 2175.  
þe toþer eild endis in thare,

H. Sch., ch. 41, p. 1091 A.  
In Thare terminatur secunda ætas.

The accounts that follow are taken from the Vulgate, with the exception of C., l. 2757—61.

C., l. 2757—61.

If þou þar findes fíue sith tene,  
Fifty or fourte o þi lele men,  
Tuenti mai fall, or tuis fíue,  
Ne sal þai alle haue þar for líue?"  
þus said our lauerd;

H. Sch., ch. 52, p. 1100 A.

Si fuerint quinquaginta . . . item, si  
quadraginta. quid, si triginta? quid, si  
viginti? quid si decem? Et ait Domi-  
nus: Non delebo eos propter decem.

It is true, the Bible mentions in the 18th chapter the same dialogue between God and Abraham; but it is just this striking abbreviation of it in the H. Sch. and in the Cursor, as against the longer discourse in the Bible, that clearly proves the H. Sch. to have been the source of our poem even in this passage. It is the same thing with C., l. 2861—2880, compared with H. Sch., ch. 53, where the region of Sodom and Gomorrha, destroyed by the Lord, is described: in their stead, is now a sea killing all life.

C., l. 2873—80.

If þou a brand þar-in wil cast,  
þe fire it haldes þar stedfast,  
Thoru brennyng of þe brinstane,  
Quare-of þar es sa mikel wan.  
þar-bi groues sum apell tre,  
Wit appuls selcut fair to se;  
Quen þai ar in hand, als a físe bal,  
To poudir wit a stink þai fal.

H. Sch., ch. 53, p. 1101 C.

Lucerna ardens superenatat, exstincta  
mergitur. Multis in locis nigras glebas  
bituminis vomit . . .

Dicitur etiam quod poma nata in ar-  
boribus circumpositis, usque ad matu-  
ritatem coloris sunt viridis, matura si  
incidas, favillas intus inuenies.

C., l. 3214. Sarah is buried in the burying-place of Adam:

C., l. 3214.

. . . þar formast was grauen Adam.

H. Sch., ch. 59, p. 1106 A.

Adam, et Eva jam ibidem sepulti erant.

The struggle of Esau and Jacob for the priority of birth was already begun while they were in their mother's womb:

C., l. 3481—2.

þan wex þe fight mare þan be-forn,  
Quilk o þir tua suld first be born;

H. Sch., ch. 66, p. 1110 A.

Movebantur enim mixtim pueri, ut vi-  
cissim alter prior altero videretur posse  
prodire ad ortum.

C., l. 3864.

He [Jacob] was master hird of his fee;

H. Sch., ch. 74, p. 1115 C.

Tandem curam gregis eum habere de-  
crevit.

On returning home, Jacob finds his mother no longer alive:

C., l. 4024.

Rebecca his moder ded he fand.

H. Sch., ch. 85, p. 1123 C.

. . . et jam mortuam inuenit matrem.

After having sold Joseph, the brothers tell Reuben what they have done (l. 4204). In the Vulgate this fact is not mentioned.

C., l. 4204.

And þai him tald wat þai had don.

H. Sch., p. 1126 B.

Ruben . . . non inuenit puerum, et cre-  
dens eum interemptum, scissis vestibus  
ejulabat. Sed accepto quod viveret, quieuit.

C., l. 5604—6. Aram had three children, Moses, Aaron, and Mary, corresponding to H. Sch., ch. 5, p. 1143 C.

C., l. 6615—26 = H. Sch., ch. 73, p. 1190 B. Moses breaks the golden calf, grinds it to powder, and puts it in water which all were made to drink. The guilty immediately had their beards gilt; on the innocent, there was nothing extraordinary to be seen.

Moses is buried by God in a hidden place:

C., l. 6921—2.

For, wist þe Juus quare he lai,  
Honur him als godd wald þai.

C., l. 7003—4.

. . . . . in his<sup>1</sup> time was  
þe cite made of Thebas.

C., l. 7013—14.

Manigath<sup>2</sup> com after him;  
Troi was bi-gunnen in his time,

H. Sch., ch. 20, p. 1260 B.

quod ideo factum autumant Hebræi, ne  
ipsi Moysen pro Deo colerent,

H. Sch., ch. 5, p. 1274 C.

In diebus Othoniel Cadmus regnavit  
Thebis.

H. Sch., ch. 6, p. 1275 D.

In Dardania regnavit Tros a quo Trojam  
conditam ferunt.

The English poet differs from his original at this place. In the H. Sch. Tros is already reigning under the predecessor of Samgath, but mention is not yet made of the foundation of Troy.

C., l. 7027—8.

In time o þis Iedeon, wees  
Bath orpheus and hercules.

H. Sch., ch. 8, p. 1281 A, incidentia.

Orphæus clarus habitus est. Linus  
magister Herculis claruit.

The Cursor, omitting Linus, especially lays stress upon Hercules, whereas the H. Sch. only accidentally quotes him as a pupil of Linus. The poet may have omitted the latter as quite unknown to him, or his Latin text was corrupt in this passage.

C., l. 7037—40.

In grece þan regned priamus,  
Als ald stori telles us.  
In þis ilk lairs time,  
Was letters funden o latine.

H. Sch., ch. 10, p. 1283 B, ined.

Priamus filius Laomedontis regnavit in  
Troja.

*ibid.* C. Carmentis nympha litteras  
Latinas invenit.

C., l. 7045—7.

Sebon [Esebon] siþen, sais þe bok,  
Tok israel to lede and lok;  
He leed þam seuen yeir and mare;

H. Sch., ch. 13, p. 1285 A.

Post Jephthe judicavit Israel Abessan,  
vel Essebon . . . septem annis.

Although the same remark is given in the Vulgate [Judicum, ch. xii. 8], the name of Essebon there does not correspond with the English poem; the conciseness of the passage also points to Peter Comestor.

<sup>1</sup> Othomel's.

<sup>2</sup> In the other MSS. Samgath, Sanigath, Sanygath.



C., l. 7048—50.  
 Alexandre, in þat siquar,  
 þat paris hight, rainiust helayn,—  
 Quarfor þat mani man was slain.

H. Sch., ch. 14, p. 1285 B, incd.  
 Eo tempore Paris Helenam rapuit, bel-  
 lum decennale surrexit.

During Ladon's reign, Troy was taken :

C., l. 7059.  
 In his time was troi nomyn,

H. Sch., ch. 15, p. 1285 C, incd.  
 Hujus anno tertio capta est Troja.

There is the remarkable fact to be observed here, that in C., l. 7064 ff., the exact numbers of the Greeks and Trojans (870,000 and 686,000) are stated, which notice is wanting in the H. Sch. It is possible that the poet was indebted for it to another source, or that he has invented the numbers only for the purpose of adding more probability to his account. The superscription to C., l. 7861 ff. is found in three manuscripts.

C. (Gött. MS.), l. 7861 ff.  
 Here biginnys ful witterli,  
 þe feird elde, at (þ)e king dau.

H. Sch., ch. 2, p. 1325 B.  
 Hic inchoatur quarta ætas (sc. with the  
 anointing of David).

L. 8553—4. Under David, Carthage is founded = H. Sch., ch. 3, p. 1350 A :  
*In diebus David, Carthago condita est.*

C., l. 9175—6.  
 Achaz, his sun, him efter come ;  
 þat sith was made þe tun o rome.

H. Sch., ch. 25, p. 1406 D, incd.  
 Sub Achaz Roma condita est.

C., l. 9183—4.  
 þat time was, als sais stori,  
 A sibile þat hight osami.

H. Sch., ch. 33, p. 1415 B, incd.  
 In diebus Manasse, Sybilla Erophila  
 claruit in Samo; unde et Samia dicta est.

*Osami* is a contraction of "of Samy."

C., l. 9197.  
 Josias gat Jeconiam.

H. Sch., ch. 38, p. 1418 D.  
 Reliquit autem Josias tres filios, Eliacim,  
 qui et Jechonias . . . dictus est.

In the Bible, the name of Jechonias is not to be found.

But the poet does not make use of the H. Sch. in that part of C. which comprises the contents of the Old Testament only ; the influence of this work is to be seen in the later parts too.

Compare C., l. 11380, etc. with H. Sch. in Evgl. ch. vii, p. 1541 C. The poet quotes Chrysostom as his authority for a tale of Jesus' birth found in a book of the prophet Balaam.

This short notice which the poet found in the H. Sch. may have led him to the tale of the wonderful arrival of the three kings from the East ; for P. C. does not give a detailed account of this story.

C., l. 13210—13.

His disciplis þat war bun,  
 þai ledd his licam ute o tun,  
 Til sebastin wit mikel far,  
 þe hali cors þai birid þar.

H. Sch., ch. 73, p. 1574 D.

Discipuli vero Joannis tulerunt corpus  
 ejus de carcere, et sepelierunt illud . . .  
 . . . Corpus vero in Sebaste . . . sepul-  
 tum est.

The fate of John's corpse is described thus :

C., l. 13235—41.

Bot sco did efter haipen lede,  
 þis bodi ute of erth þai hint,  
 And al to powder þai it brind.  
 Sipen war hali munckes send,  
 To gedir þaa askes þat þaa brend,  
 Powder or ban þat þai fand þar,  
 þai gader up, and wit þaim bar.

H. Sch., ch. 73, p. 1574 D.

Quæ (ossa) rursus collecta, ab eisdem  
 cremata sunt, et pulvis ventilatus . . .  
 Cum autem colligerentur ossa, quidam  
 monachi a Jerosolymis . . . magnam  
 eorum partem tulerunt.

In lines 13185—13187, the poet says the beheading of John is still remembered in our days; on St. John's day, people in France are accustomed to go to church. H. Sch., p. 1575 B, gives more particulars. The beheading of St. John took place at Edessa. From this town the head was brought to Constantinople, then to Gaul. This legend is probably to be derived from the gradual propagation of the worship of the Saint.

The blind soldier who pierced Christ's side with a spear, received his sight again through the blood that ran down :

C., l. 16841—4 (Cotton MS. l. 28—32).

Bothe blode & water oute lett  
 By þe spere, til his hand  
 Ran down of his blode :  
 He wipped is egen þer-withe,  
 And sijt he hade ful gode.

H. Sch., ch. 179, p. 1634 A.

. . . et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt  
 quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus,  
 et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus,  
 clare vidit.

Our poet follows the H. Sch. especially closely in the account of the first Christian communions. Compare, for instance—

C., l. 19419.

Tua wittnes fals þai þam puruaid,

H. Sch., Act. Apost., ch. 31, p. 1663 C.

. . et surrexerunt duo falsi testes.

In the Vulgate no number is mentioned.

It is likewise mentioned only by P. C. that the witnesses, as the law commanded, were the first who stoned him :

C., l. 19457—60.

þe fals wittnes stain him bigan,  
 þat said þai herd him drightin bann;  
 þai held for lau wit-uten sin,  
 þat þe wittnes suld þat bigin.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 38, p. 1668 A.

Et testes, duo scilicet falsi, qui primi  
 secundum legem tenebantur lapides pro-  
 jicere, quia in lege dictum est de blas-  
 phemo: Prima manus testium lapidabit  
 eum.

To the account in the Bible, that the clothes of the persons stoning Stephen were laid down at the feet of Saul, the poet adds the remark that Saul was

afterwards called Paul. Of course this change of the name must have already been known to the poet; but its being found just at the same place and with the same words in the H. Sch. increases the probability that he had H. Sch. before him; for in the Vulgate this fact does not occur here. Compare—

C., l. 19465 ff.  
pat ilk þat þan was hate saul,  
Siþen he was apostel paul.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 38, p. 1668 A.  
... deposuerunt vestimenta sua, secus  
pedes adulescentis, qui vocabatur Saulus.  
Postea vocatus est Paulus.

Another passage evidently taken from the H. Sch. is l. 19481—8. After the death of Stephen, the holy church of Jerusalem is specially persecuted:

C., l. 19481—8.  
For he, [Stephen,] þat ouer-man was  
slan,  
Was o þe seuen dekens an;  
Disciplis folud þai sa herd,  
þat þai þam draf ute o þair ward,  
Sauue þe apostels þat þam ledd,  
þai stod, bot all þas oþer flegd:  
All oþer þam flegd, bot yeitt þai stod,  
Sua dos þaa hirdes þat er god.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 38, p. 1668 B.  
Et facta est persecutio magna in Ecclesia,  
quæ erat Hierosolymis, quia occiso beato  
Stephano uno de principibus Ecclesiæ,  
quasi primicerio septem diaconorum,  
coeperunt alios persequi graviter, in tan-  
tum, quod omnes discipuli, præter apos-  
tolos, qui ut pastores gregis, cæteris  
erant constantiores . . . .

In the same way—

C., l. 19491—6.  
Alphei sun þat hight iacob,  
O ierusalem þai mad biscop;  
þai laid þair handes him apon,  
Petre and iacob and sant iohan;  
For-þi o quoner þan o thre,  
Mai na biscop sacrid be.

*Ibid.*  
Tunc . . . ordinauerunt Jacobum Alphæi  
episcopum Hierosolymorum, et impo-  
suerunt ei manus Petrus, et Jacobus, et  
Johannes. Ideo non a paucioribus quam  
tribus episcopis, episcopus hodie conse-  
cratur.

God, who protects the good, does not suffer Saul to kill any one:

C., l. 19502—4.  
Als godd wald, nan o þam he slogh,  
For godd him geit, þat euer es god,  
Un-wemmed his hend in sacles blod.

H. Sch., ch. 39, p. 1668 D.  
Neminem tamen occidebat, Domino cus-  
todiente manus ejus, ne sanguine inno-  
centium polluerentur.

C., l. 19509—10.  
Philip, þat was o dekens an,  
þe neiest fra steuen was slan,

H. Sch., ch. 39, p. 1668 D.  
Philippus autem Diaconus secundus a  
Stephano, descendens . . . . prædicabat  
ibi Christum.

The latter line in C., stating the death of Philip, is not found in the H. Sch. I assume a misreading here, especially as the three other manuscripts differ:

*Ffx.* þe neist to telle fra saint stephan  
*Göttg.* þe neist to tell fra sant stephane  
*Trinity.* Next aftir steuen was gone



Simon suffered himself to be baptized only for show, in order to become the confidant of Philip and to learn his wonderful deeds :

C., l. 19534—8.

Bot for he wend at come þar-to,  
þar-for tok he baptim faint,  
For to be wit philipp a-quaint,  
To be him als his priue nere,  
pat he moght of his craftes lere.

H. Sch., ch. 39, p. 1669 A.

. . . nec ita facile putavit ex quadam industria fieri, ideo fecte baptizatus est, ut familiarius ei adhereret, et addisceret artem, qua similia posset facere.

The precept that only bishops are allowed to perform the rite of confirmation :

C., l. 19549—52.

Herbi mai se þat oght es wise,  
pat þof summen mai baptise,  
Mai naman þat es in land  
Conferming giue, bot biscop hand.

H. Sch., ch. 40, p. 1669 C.

. . . quia manum impositionem reservavit apostolis, quæ propterea reservatur hodie solis eorum vicariis, id est episcopis, qui manus imponunt, et frontem liniunt in confirmatione.

The lines 19553—6 in C. relate that Philip had not been an apostle ; for although he might have laid his hands upon the person to be baptized, yet he did not, for

pat ilk ful wel þis philipp wist,  
For-þi of all þat he baptist,  
He heild þam to þe apostels ai,  
pat þai suld on þam handes lai,

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 40, p. 1669 C.

Si enim Philippus iste apostolus esset, statim baptizatis manus imponeret, nec ad hoc alios expectaret.

In this place, indeed, the poet has not, as usually, translated literally ; the substance, however, of the two versions is the same.

Saul learned all that he afterwards taught, within three days and nights :

C., l. 19653—5.

Wit-in þaa thre night and thre dais,  
Mikel he lered, als summen sais,  
O spelling þat he siben spak,

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 42, p. 1671 C.

In quo triduo creditur a Spiritu sancto didicisse Evangelium.

The command from Heaven, "Peter, kill and eat," is followed in the Cursor by an explanation of these words which quite agrees with the H. Sch.

C., l. 19854—8.

Al sua [say], 'gang and þou sal gete  
þe Iuen folk, o-mang þou ga  
þe heþen lede, for þou sal sla  
pair lastes þat es noght to prais,  
And haali halikirc up-rai's.'

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 47, p. 1676 B.

Ac si diceretur in spiritu: Transi ad gentes, et occide in eis vitia, et sic Ecclesiæ incorpora.

The influence of the H. Sch. on the Cursor is evident in the lines 19881—8, which treat of some details in the rite of baptism :

C., l. 19881—8.

Saint ambros sais þat we sai thre  
Rehercing quen child sal houen be.  
"Trus þou in godd," ya, þis es an,  
þe toþer, "for-sakes þou sathan,"  
þe thrid es, "wil þou baptis be;"  
And alsua, smerling es þar thre,  
In brest, in suldres, and in frunt,  
And thris þan es he put in funt.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 47, p. 1676 C.  
Nam, ut dicit Ambrosius, in catechismo  
fit trina interrogatio, scilicet, credis in  
Deum? abrenuntias Satanæ? vis bap-  
tizari? Similiter trina unctio, in vertice,  
sive fronte; in scapulis; in pectore; in  
baptismo quoque fit trina immersio.

Peter sees that God makes no difference between persons :

C., l. 19945—6.

Ne he ne be-halds queþer it be  
Iuen or haiþen, thral or fre,

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 48, p. 1677 C.  
—nec discernit inter Judæos et gentes.

The Vulgate (Act. Apost., ch. 10, l. 34) contains this exclamation of Peter too, but it does not directly oppose Jews and heathens, as is done by P. C.

C., l. 19990—2.

And þis it was þe first passage,  
þat þe apostels in parti  
Mād mang þe folk o paeni.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 49, p. 1678 B.  
Et hic fuit primus transitus particularis  
apostolorum ad gentes,

With these lines the poet, for the present, closes the history of the Apostles; he treats of their life more particularly in another section, beginning with l. 20849.

The miraculous deeds of the Apostles Peter and John, not mentioned above, exactly agree with the Vulgate (Act. Apost., ch. 2—5).

Another passage corresponding with the H. Sch., ch. 141, is :

C., l. 22441—2.

Als Jerome sais þat man wel truus,  
Sais he fand in þe bok o Juus,

ch. 141, p. 1611 A.  
Hieronymus autem in annalibus Hebræ-  
orum invenit signa quindecim dierum  
ante diem iudicii.

But the fifteen signs before Doomsday cannot be taken as a proof that the Latin work was made use of, because the quotation of Jerome appears in a great many poems which mention those signs. [See Nölle, *Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gericht*. Halle, 1879, p. 6.] Moreover, the order of the signs is quite different from that in the H. Sch.

## II.

### WACE, *L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DE LA FÊTE DE LA CONCEPTION NOTRE-DAME*.

From l. 10123—11232 the poet treats of the Virgin Mary's conception. The details of this legend might be taken from different apocryphal gospels—

(1) the *Pseudo-Matthæi evangelium*, (2) the *Evangelium de nativitate Mariæ*, (3) the *Protevangeliium Jacobi minoris*,<sup>1</sup> as well as from a French poem of Wace, *L'établissement de la fête de la conception Notre-Dame*.<sup>2</sup>

Now, the question is, whether the English poet, for this part of his work, made use of the Latin works above mentioned, (which undoubtedly were very well known at his time,) or preferred the more developed telling of the story as we find it in the poem of Wace. An accurate examination of all these texts shows that there are a good many passages, where C. mentions single circumstances, which we only meet with besides in the work of Wace. Compare—

C., l. 10214.  
A mikel fest in winter fell,

W., p. 11, l. 17—18.  
En yver, ce trovons lisant,  
Une feste faisoient grant;

In none of the Latin texts is there a remark that the festivity took place in winter.

Joachim, cursed by the priest for his childlessness, flees into the desert :

C., l. 10293.  
Into wildirness he went *Fairfax*.  
He went amang þaa wildrin laus. *Cotton*.

W., p. 16, l. 5.  
Joachim as deserz ala.

C., l. 10302—3.  
In praier, wak, and weping sare,  
And fastand was in wil to be,

W., p. 16, l. 7—8.  
En plorant faisoit oroisons,  
Géunes et afflictions;

Again—

C., l. 10341—42.  
pat of egypti was hei stiward,  
And al þat land had in his ward.

W., p. 18, l. 6—7.  
Qui eut d'Egipte la baillie  
Et trestoute la seignorie.

The English poet has correctly translated the French word *la baillie* with the correspondent *stewardship*; whereas, in the Apocryphal Gospel, Joseph is called *dominus Egypti*.

C., l. 10357—59.  
For sco sal be al godd be-kend;  
Til him offrid at thrid yere end,  
Als þou of hir pi wou has made,

W., p. 18, at the bottom.  
A .III. ans iert a dieu donnée  
Et présentée a damdé,  
Issi con vos l'avez voé,

The angel orders Joachim to sacrifice :

C., l. 10375—76.  
Bot ar he went, he bad him mak  
A sacrificjs for drighatin sak.

W., p. 19, l. 17—18.  
Torna s'en, mais primes li dist  
Que sacrefice à Dieu feïst.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Tischendorf. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Mancel et Trébutien, Caen, 1842.

The next part of the story, relating Joachim's sacrifice, is wanting in the Latin texts. I set some passages of the English and French poems side by side :

C., l. 10377—88.

Sir Ioachim was fain and blith,  
And up he sett an auter suith,  
Mad sacrificjs on maner suilk,—  
First ten lambes, quitte als milk  
pat beres takins o þam-self;  
Sipen þer neist, boles tuelue,  
And at þe last, a hundret scepe;  
Hu [he] þam delt ta nu god kepe.  
To godd, þe lambes he gaf to lottes;  
And to þe pouer, þe bul scottes;  
pis hundret scepe þat i of melt,  
Til al þe comun war þai delt;

In the following lines the poet explains the meaning of the sacrifice mentioned above :

C., l. 10391—407.

pir lambes ten, þam al als an,  
Bitakens iesu crist was tan,  
And don on rode for our wite,  
And for us sufferd gret despite;  
þe bulles tuelue he offrid sua,  
pou sal þe tuelue apostels ta,  
pat tholod for crist bath soru and sare,  
And martird for his luue þai war.  
pir hundreth scepe þat þar was bun,  
War don to dele al to þe comun,  
Bitakens felascip i-wiss,  
Of halus hei in heuen bliss;  
þe takingen of a hundret tale,  
Al fullines it takens hale.  
For þai pat stad er in þair blis,  
Wit-uten seke, wit-uten sare,  
Mai nankin nede be funden þar.

W., p. 19, last line;—p. 20, l. 7.

Mult fu liez, et Dieu mercia  
Joachim si sacrefia  
Doze aingniaus blans premierement,  
Doze toriaus, oeilles cent.  
A Dieu donna les .xii. aigniax;  
A .xii. povres, les toriaus;  
Et les oeilles toutes cent,  
Mist au pueple communement;

W., p. 20, l. 10;—p. 21, l. 8.

Par les aigniaus que il ocist,  
Nos senefie Jhesucrist,  
Qui en la croiz fu mors et pris,  
Et por noz pechiez fu ocis:  
Li .xii. tor senefierent  
Li .xii. apostle qui prechierent,  
Et puis furent sacrefié  
Por amour dieu et martreïé.  
Les cent brebiz qu'ot demandées,  
Au pueple furent devisées:  
Ce nos est avis, senefie  
La celestiaus compaignie,  
Car cent, cist nombres, ce savon,  
Senefie perfection.  
Icil qui sont el ciel lassus  
Sont parfait, ne lor estuet plus;  
Sanz enferté sont, et sanz vice,  
Sanz mauvestié et sanz dampnice.

From C., l. 10409, both works show so striking a likeness that there cannot be the slightest doubt about the fact that the author of C. knew the poem of Wace, and made use of it for his poem. I compare only a few passages :

C., l. 10409—13.

Leue we nu ioachim þus-gate,  
And speke we nu of anna state,  
Of hir site and of hir care,  
Hu seo it for hir husband bare,  
Quen þat he heild him fram hame.

W., p. 21, l. 13—16.

De Joachim vos avons dit;  
Or, dirons d'Anna .i. petit,  
Qu'ele fist, comment se contint,  
Quant ses sires en maison vint.

C., l. 10415—16.

pis leuedi was o mikel prise,  
Loued and lered, bath war and wise,

W., p. 21, l. 17—18.

Anna fu dame mult proisie,  
Mult loée et mult ensaingnie :

C., l. 10417—23.

Quen sco had herd al þis tipand  
 Of ysacar and hir husband,  
 Sco tok on hir cleþing o care,  
 Sco sperd hir dore, and wepid sare,  
 Weped aud mornd night and dai,  
 Hir lijf in langing lastand ai,  
 O gladscip was hir alþer-leist.

C., l. 10424—27.

Quen þat þair dai was comin o fest,  
 þan men suld bald þam to be blith,  
 And ilk man al his malice mith,  
 Fair scrud on þam to take,

W., p. 22, l. 1—7.

Quant le reprovier ot oï  
 Que l'en ot fait a son mari,  
 Dras de dolor et de plor prist;  
 Clost sa maison, et grant duel fist,  
 Plora la nuit, plora le jour,  
 Toute sa vie ert en tristor,  
 Onques de joie ne li tint.

W., p. 22, l. 8—10.

Quant li jors de la feste vint,  
 Que l'en s'en devoit esbaudir  
 Mieux conréer et mieux vestir.

The Latin gospels do not know this fact, nor do they know anything about the consolation which the maid-servant of Anna gives to her lady; whereas the French poem agrees almost literally with C.:

C., l. 10431—34.

Sco had a maiden hight vtaine,  
 þat was hir priue chambur-laine,  
 "Leuedi," sco said, "for drightin dere,  
 þou mend þi mode, and turn þi chere!"

Or,

C., l. 10437—42.

"Hu lang sal þou þus-gat be wroth?  
 þou cleth þe wit sum better cloth.  
 þou agh um-thinc þe, leuedi lele,  
 þat þou es of kind of ysrael;  
 Ne wat þou noght, it semes nai,  
 Quat a fest it es to dai?"

W., p. 22, l. 11—14.

Si vint Item sa chamberiere  
 Si l'apela en tel maniere:  
 "Anna, dame, conforte-toi,  
 Por quoi ne prenz conroi de toi?"

W., p. 22, l. 15—19.

"Dessi qu' à quant issi ploras?  
 Vestoi, dame, pren meilleurs dras:  
 Tu te doiz contenir plus bel,  
 Qui es del lignage Israel;  
 Dont ne sez tu la feste est hui?"

The Cursor continues—C., l. 10443—50 = Wace, p. 22, l. 20—p. 23, l. 4. Utaine tries to cheer her lady. She says: "I am very sorry to see you always so mournful, whereas you should be glad, cast off your melancholy, and array yourself better for the feast of God."

W., p. 23, l. 5—12 = C., l. 10452—61. Anna forbids her maid to speak; she cannot have any pleasure if she does not see her husband.

W., p. 23, l. 13—20 = C., l. 10462—70. The reply of Utaine, wanting in *Evgl. de Nat. Mar.*, is also shortly given in *Psd. Mth. Evgl.* ch. ii.

From Wace, are further taken, lines 10471—94 = W., p. 23, l. 21—p. 24, l. 20. Anna goes into her orchard to weep and complain there; she begs God to bless her with a child, as he had blessed Sarah; she mourns the day of her birth, being now cursed by church and community.

W., p. 25, l. 7—9. The apparition of the angel and the promise of a child, which are spoken of from line 10495, are also to be found in *Evgl. de*



*Nat. M.* ch. iv. The discourse, however, between Anna and the angel, is wanting there; she devotes her child to the Lord's service = C. 10503—5.

Further, from l. 10506, the angel tells her that there are many wives whom God has not blessed with children till their old age, as Sarah and Rachel. This account is also given in *Evgl. de Nat. M.* ch. iii., but the words are addressed to Joseph instead of to Mary. All these facts are found, in just the very same succession, in Wace, and have in the Cursor the mark of the correctest translation. W., p. 25, l. 11—p. 26, l. 13.

I add to these some other particulars not given in *Pseudo-Matth. Evgl.*, or in *Evgl. de Nat. M.*; but only to be found in Wace's poem.

W., p. 26, l. 14—15 = C., l. 10530—32; W., p. 27, l. 1 = C., l. 10542; W., p. 27, l. 9—20 = C., l. 10551—62; W., p. 7, l. 19—20 = C., l. 10573—74; W., p. 29, l. 9—11 = C., l. 10599—601; W., p. 30, l. 9—14 = C., l. 10623—28; W., p. 30, l. 15—p. 31, l. 11 = C., l. 10629—46; W., p. 34, l. 19 = C., l. 10723.

With C., l. 10835, begins a divergency of the four manuscripts. The Cotton and Göttingen manuscripts still follow the French poem in lines 10835—68. The Fairfax and Trinity manuscripts turn to the Bible. The very unexpected tale concerning the apparition of the angel is remarkable. Mary and Joseph, who have hitherto filled the poet's thoughts, all at once seem to be persons quite unknown to us. Lines 10835 ff. run thus: "God sent his angel Gabriel into a town of Galilee, named Nazareth; there lived a man of the name of Joseph, of David's family. He was married to Mary," etc.

This passage, compared with Luke i. l. 26 ff., turns out to be a literal translation of the Evangelist's words. Another proof, that the Bible was used here, is l. 10861: *And his name shalle pou Jhesu calle.* = Luke i. 31.

Neither Wace nor any one of the Latin works mentioned above makes mention of Jesus's name in speaking of the Annunciation. Nor does Wace say that Jesus shall for ever reign over Jacob's house. See Luke i. 33; and *Evgl. de Nat. M.* ix. From line 10869—900 the other two manuscripts also agree with the Bible. Although Wace in general mentions the same principal points of the story, we see from lines 10892—98 that only the Bible can have been the source of the Cursor.

The angel shows Mary her kinswoman Elizabeth, who then was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, as an example of God's power. Compare with this account, Luke i. l. 36: *Et ecce Elisabeth cognata tua, et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua, et hic mensis sextus est illi, quæ vocatur sterilis.* And W. p. 40, l. 22 ff.:

*Voiz Elysabel ta parente,  
Qui longues a brehàingne esté,  
Et enfant a tant désirré,  
Concéu a de son seignor  
Un fil qui iert de grant valor.*

In Wace the exact time, six months, is not given precisely. C., l. 10899—900. With God nothing is impossible. Luke i. 37: *Quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum.*

Wace makes no mention here of God's omnipotence.

After this short interruption, the poet turns again to his original authority, as is proved by l. 10905—912, compared with W., p. 41, l. 8—17.

After having obeyed the command of God, Mary says: "The Saviour may be born of me, I am my Lord's handmaiden."

He who has all in His power, who was from eternity and will be for ever, is seen in the pure virgin. The poet saying:

C., l. 10909—10.

pat all wroght, and has in hand,  
Sun and mone, and se and sand,

W., p. 41, l. 12—13.

Qui tout a fait, tout voit, tout ot;  
Qui mer et terre et ciel enclot,

He has for once deviated from his custom of exactly translating even the very words of his original.

C., 10913—14.

Wat þou quat for soth i tell?  
þe lauereð es nu bicummen threll,

W., p. 41, l. 18—19.

Savez que por voir puet l'en dire  
Sers devint cil qui estoit sire,

W., p. 41 end—p. 42, l. 7 = C., 10917—24. The immortal Lord became man, in order to die for us, without being under any necessity, for He would defend us from death and from the fiend.

Once more the poet leaves Wace, from l. 10935, to insert the annunciation and birth of John, wanting in the French poem. He found the matter for it, with the exception of a few additions, in Luke i. l. 5—22. He doesn't return to Wace's poem until l. 11023. Compare:

C., l. 11023—36.

Quen þai wer mett, þir leuedis tuin,  
þat war bath cosins of a kin,  
Formast sant maria spak,  
And hir greting be-gan to mak  
Til elizabeth þan welforth stadd,  
Hir child in wamb be gladd,  
And for ioi it sett up-right  
For to wirscip þat lauereð dright,  
Again him mad gladnes an glu,  
þof he ne him sagh, wel he him kneu;

W., p. 43, l. 10—21.

Quant les .ii. dames s'asamblèrent,  
Qui cousines d'un lignage erent,  
Sainte Marie avant parla,  
Sainte Elisabel salua.  
Quant cele a le salu oi,  
Ses fiz del ventre s'esjoï;  
D'amor et de joie s'esmut,  
Son seignor qui venoit connut.  
Cil qui estoit encore à naistre,

Hijs lauerd he kneu welwel bi-forn	Connut son seigneur et son maistre,
pat he was of his moder born,	Criature son criatur,
pe man his lauerd, pe maister his clerc,	Deciples maistre, sers son seignor.
pe maker kneu his hand-were.	

In the same manner the translation of the French poem proceeds. W., p. 43, l. 22—p. 44, l. 19 = C., l. 11037—56. Though the meeting of the two women, and Elizabeth's prophecy, is also found in Luke i. 40—56, the remark, that the two women dearly loved each other and told each other what they liked; that the one was a young girl, the other a married wife, is only told by Wace, p. 44, l. 13—18.

Lines 11115—76 relate the pregnancy of Mary, Joseph's distrust, and his intention of leaving his wife. Though this passage, too, agrees with *Evgł. de Nat. M.* ch. x., as to its contents, the corresponding passage of the Cursor turns out to be a literal translation of Wace's poem, p. 44, l. 19—p. 47, l. 17.

Annexed to the birth of Christ, the poet gives an argument for Mary's immaculateness, which we find again in the very same passage of the French original.

An exact translation from Wace is the following passage :

C., l. W., 11209—12.	W., p. 48, l. 1—4.
Qua godds might kneu witerli,	Qui la puissance Dieu sauroit,
par-of thurt him haf na ferli:	Nient ne s'esmerveilleroit
Maria barn ber in chastite,	Que Marie virge enfanta,
Sin godd wald þat it sua suld be.	Quant Diex le vout et commanda.

C., l. 11213—26 = W., p. 48, l. 5—p. 49, l. 7. God, who made the dry rod bear blossoms and fruit without its being covered with soil, could also cause a child to be born of a virgin at the end of the ninth month. He who wrought all things in a little time, made the dumb ass speak, and clave the sea to destroy His enemies, could cause a virgin to give birth to a child.

A characteristic testimony for the immaculate conception is likewise taken from the French by our poet :

C., l. 11227—32.	W., p. 49, l. 9—15.
pe liknes o þis barn-teme,	Issi con li soulauz son rai
Right als þou seis pe sun beme	Par la verriere met et trait,
Gais thoru pe glas and cums again,	Qu'a la verriere mal ne fait:
Wit-uten brest, right sua al plain,	Issi et mult plus soutilment,
Bot flescheliker, he com and yede,	Entra, et issi chastement
Saufand his moder hir maidenhede.	En Nostre Dame le fil Dé,
	Pour garder sa virginité.

a. PASSAGES NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE WORKS MENTIONED ABOVE.

After having proved in the preceding part of my essay that Wace was a source of the *Cursor Mundi*, there still remain a few passages whose source I

cannot find anywhere, though I hope some future searches may hit on their original.

C., l. 10783—816. The reasons for which Christ should be born of a married wife are as follows :

1. The fiend should be deceived, that he might not triumph over the soul of Mary, in case of Jesus' bastard birth.
2. The Jews should be prevented from stoning Mary.
3. Mary should not lack a husband's protection.

A similar argument is found in an old English poem. *Geburt Jesu*.<sup>1</sup>

*Geburt Jesu*, p. 81, l. 263—68 :  
 Josep weddede in þis entente  
 þis clene maide þere ;  
 Ac for oþer þing our lord wolde  
 þat heo wedded were :  
 þat is moder isclaundred nere  
 Wiþ childe unwedded were,  
 Ne þat þe deuel it under ȝite  
 þat amaide achild bere ;  
 Vor, ȝif he it wuste, e wolde wite  
 þat hit were godes sone,  
 And habbe destourbed al þe dede  
 Of his swete passione.

In this legend, only the first of these reasons is mentioned, therefore the conjecture that this legend was the source of the Cursor is to be rejected. Probably this argument in the Cursor, as well as in the legend, is taken from some common source. An evidence for such a source is found in the legend, l. 413, which contains almost the same words as C., l. 11060 ff.

*Geburt Jesu*, l. 413—14.  
 And, as in some stude is iwrite,  
 vorte þat child were ibore,  
 þo ȝeode he aȝen to hire owne hous,  
 From wham heo come bifore.<sup>2</sup>

C., l. 11057—64. Mary remained at Elizabeth's till the birth of John, and helped her with her own hand ; the poet adds :

*And,—als i in sum bokes fand.*

For the following lines I have not succeeded in finding a source : l. 11101—14, where the poet tells us, that John, when seven years old, went into the wilderness to escape from sin. He fed on roots, grass, and honey, and wore neither cloth nor linen.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*. Paderborn : 1875.

<sup>2</sup> The reasons why Mary's betrothal with Joseph was necessary, are to be found too in *Beda*, and in the *Ormulum*.

## b. THE STORY OF ELSEY, AND THE FESTIVAL OF THE CONCEPTION.

The institution of the festival of Mary's conception is described, 1. In a Latin *Miraculum de Conceptione Sanctæ Mariæ*.<sup>1</sup> 2. In the Introduction to Wace's French poem mentioned above, p. 1—9. But as I have already proved that the author of the *Cûrsor* knew this French poem, it is very likely that his mind reverted to it again when he was near the end of his voluminous work; and it is easy to show that this really was so. The introduction of the tale shows, from l. 24755—62, some accordance with the French poem, both authors expressing their intention of relating the time and manner in which the festival was instituted. Compare with them Wace, p. 1. The *Miraculum* does not contain this introduction. Wace, p. 2, l. 6—15 relates, that Harold's death much afflicted the King of Denmark, and he equipped ships to fight against the Normans, who had usurped the kingdom. The *Miraculum* also knows of the preparations for the combat against the Normans, but here, instead of being led by grief and desire of vengeance upon the murderer of his friend, the King of Denmark wishes to take possession of England himself: l. 24789 contains one word which goes to prove that our poet made use of Wace; the line runs

*He gadir sauders her and þar,*

that is, he gathered soldiers everywhere.

It can scarcely be explained how this word "sauders" could have the meaning of "milites" in the *Miraculum*,<sup>2</sup> but "soudoiers" in the French text, p. 2, l. 19, shows apparently the original of the English word.

Compare further the following passages:

C., l. 24793—6.

His consail badd him for to faand,  
þe king of danemark wit seand,  
For to spek a-bute sum pais  
Bituix him and þe danaïs.

Wace, p. 3, l. 3—6.

A ses barons se conseilla  
Q'en Danemarche enuoiëra,  
Savoir se ja par nul endroit  
As Danois pais faire porroit.

The conspicuous qualities of Elsey are not to be found in the *Miraculum*, but in Wace's poem:

C., l. 24800—2.

A hend man he was and wise;  
A gret resun wel sceu he cuth,  
Wit-uten ani mer in muth.

W., p. 3, l. 9—12.

Bien cointement savoit parler,  
Et bon conseil prendre et doner;  
Mult estoit de bonne éloquence,  
Si parloit par grant sapience.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the appendix to Wace's *Conception Nôtre Dame*, ed. by Mancel et Trébutien; Caen, 1842, p. 87. Cf. G. Sarrazin, *Ueber die Quellen des Ormulum* in E. Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, vi, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Miraculum*, p. 88. . . . et ex circumjacentibus regionibus milites quam plurimos congregavit.

In the same way,

C., l. 24808—11.

O presaundes mani, and riche gift,  
O siluer and gold giftes to bede,  
Mar þan mister es to rede;  
þe sing o pes alsua to bring.

W., p. 3, l. 15—18.

Livra li mult bons garnemenz,  
Et d'or et d'argent granz presenz,  
Qu'il au roi des Danois portast,  
En signe de pais li donnast,

The *Miraculum* only gives the following remark: *Salutes ac munera atque servitia ex Guillelmi Regis parte obtulit.*

C., l. 24818—26.

His presand to þe king he mad,  
His presand welcum was and he,  
Als bringand wont was to be;  
Til earls and baruns o þat rike,  
þan gaf he serekin giftes rike; etc.

W., p. 4, l. 3—8.

Au roi vint, si fist son present,  
Cil le reçut mult doucement;  
Et as contes et as barons  
De la terre donna granz dons,  
Et tel i ot qui li promist  
L'ost remanoir, cil tant lor dist.

He gave the earls and barons presents, speaking so well, that the army was allowed to remain in the country. Compare with this the short notice of the *Miraculum*: *Deinde omnia ut sibi iussum fuerat, inquisivit.*

W., p. 4, l. 9—12 = C., l. 24827—32. After having settled his affairs, Elsey, richly endowed by the king, betakes himself with his men to the ship.

The *Miraculum* does not make any mention of the royal presents, nor of the ship's being favoured by a fair wind:

C., l. 24835—37.

At þe last moght þai noght se,  
Bot heuen aboue þam and þe see:  
þe weder als in somer smeth,

W., p. 4, l. 13—16.

A la mer vinrent, enz entrerent;  
En mer s'empaintrent et siglerent.  
En haute mer ja loinz estoient,  
Fors ciel et mer riens ne véoient.

W., p. 4, l. 17—p. 5, l. 3 = C., l. 24838—48. The vivid description of the storm, where no details are omitted, the darkness of the clouds, the roaring of the sea, the contrary wind, the breaking of the masts, is an accurate translation of the corresponding passage in the French poem. W., p. 5, l. 10—11 = C., l. 24856—59. After useless efforts, they let the helmless ship drive.

C., l. 24863—68. The English poet inserts a prayer of the shipwrecked sailors, not to be found in Wace's poem; this prayer seems really to be the only passage where the *Miraculum* has influenced the English poet:

C., l. 24865—68.

"Leuedi," þai said, "þat es sa mild,  
Prai for us to þi suet child,  
All mon we drun, sa wailawai!  
Leuedi! nu help, for well þou mai."

*Mir. de Conc. S. Mariæ*, p. 89.

Maria mater Domini, ora pro nobis  
miseris, tuo filio, ô Domina, commenda  
nostra flamina.

The lines 24885—86 of C. point again to Wace :

W., p. 6, l. 14—15.

All þaa þat in þat ferr cost fard      Tuit cil de la nef s'esbahirent  
War medd quen þai him sagh and herd ;      Quant ils le virent et oïrent ;

The effect of the angel's coming is not so great in the *Miraculum*, where we read : *admirantibus omnibus quatenus esset persona illa . . .*

The line 24893 : "*Quen þou cums in-til england*," means that Elsey was to establish the festival mentioned above in England ; and this mention of the country not being made in either authority, the more accurate remark may be attributed to the English poet himself, who only wrote for his native country.

The end of the tale, l. 24957—68, also agrees with Wace, p. 9, l. 7—12. Having come home again, Elsey established this feast in his abbey, and many other abbeys followed the example. The results of my inquiry in reference to this part of the poem are, that the poet here once more made use of the famous work of Wace, with the exception of one passage, which he borrowed from the Latin prose.

### III.

#### ROBERT GROSSETETE'S *CHATEAU D'AMOUR*.

In l. 9514—16 the poet says :

A sample for to tell herbi,  
A sample cordant, þat i tok  
Ute of sent *Robert* bok.

Now, as this parable is given at great length in *Chateau d'amour*, or *carmen de Creatione Mundi*, by Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, the lines quoted above lead us to Robert Grossetete's work. Besides the French original<sup>1</sup> there exists a Middle-English version,<sup>2</sup> which dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

A part of the allegory, viz. 440 lines, containing only the first parable, is printed in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*. Neue Folge. Heilbronn, 1881. No. 16, p. 349. *De principio creationis mundi ; eine Allegorie, von Grosthed*. It is now our task to decide whether the author of C. was acquainted with the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robert Grossetete's *Chateau d'amour*. London : printed and published for the Caxton Society, 1852, ed. by M. Cooke.

<sup>2</sup> *Castel off Love*, (*Chateau d'amour* or *carmen de Creatione Mundi*), an Early English translation of an old French poem by Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, ed. by Richard Francis Weymouth, M.A. London : 1864.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Weymouth*, p. 5.

Middle-English version of the French poem, or went to the French original. In the French poem, the tale given in the *Cursor* begins at l. 205 ; in the English version at l. 275.

The following is a summary of the contents of C., l. 9517—9816 : A mighty king had a son so wise that he made him his partner in all his acts ; he had, besides, four daughters, Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace, without whom he could not reign. A servant of the king was, because of a crime, given over to his foe. Mercy, disliking this act of severity, begs the king's pardon for him. Truth is astonished, and says if it depended on Mercy, crimes would no more be punished ; but the servant ought to be punished. Justice consents to the sentence of death. Poor wretch ! His foe deprived him of mind and strength, all his kin are enslaved and killed, but Noah and his family. Truth and Justice shall keep Peace in the country, that Mercy may be heard. No judgment can be passed except by the unanimous assent of the four sisters. Peace also begs for the servant ; the king's son supports her ; he will suffer the punishment for him. The explanation of the allegory is as follows : God is threefold, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Adam, after his fall, could not be ransomed by the angels nor by the prophets ; there must be one, who was both God and man, and thus God Himself came on earth.

THE PARABLE OF THE CASTLE OF LOVE AND GRACE, l. 9877—10094.

A castle of help and comfort stands high on a rock, so polished that no weapon can touch it ; it is enclosed by four stone walls and a deep ditch, fortified with battlements and seven barbicans, with gate and tower. Every fugitive can take refuge here. It is painted with three colours, the foundation green, the middle blue, the battlements red. A clear well, from which run four all-healing streams, springs from the tower. Within that tower is a throne, with the brilliant light of which the bright colours mingle. The castle is the shield against our enemies. The polished rock is Mary's heart, the green colour betokens her end, the blue is her love and truth, the red her holy charity. The four towers are the four cardinal virtues ; the seven barbicans represent the seven other virtues which quell the seven sins. The well is Mary's mercy, which can never be exhausted, the brilliant throne is Christ, who made His seat in Mary's soul.

The account of C. agrees most closely with the French source mentioned ; the very introduction distinctly shows the strong likeness of both works :



C., l. 9517—22.

It was a king o mikel pris,  
Wight he was, worthi and wis.  
pis ilk king þat i of mon,  
He had an anlepe son,  
þat wit his fader was sa wele  
þat wist his wisdom ilk dele, etc.

C., l. 9527—28.

All þat his fader wald ha wroght,  
Thoru him til end it suld be broght.

Grosset., l. 205—10.

Un reis esteit de grant poeir,  
De bon voleir, de grant saveir.  
Iceu rois un filz avoit  
Ki tres tut son seu savoit.  
Tut autre tens cum fu le pere,  
Si est le fiz en sa manere. etc.

Gr., l. 215—16.

Quankil voleit comenceir,  
Par son fiz le vout cheveir.

In the English version (ed. by Weymouth) this passage is not clearly put ;  
in l. 287—88 we read there :

[What þat was of] his begynnynge,  
þe fader wolde to ende bringe.

Whilst in the two former poems it is the son who carries out his father's  
orders, in the translation the king himself performs his work.

The king distributes presents to the daughters :

C., l. 9537—39.

Of his sustenance he gaf ilkan,  
And ilkan gaf he substance an,  
Als to þair fader it aght to fere,

Gr., l. 223—25.

De sa substance ot chescune,  
E trestut est substance une,  
Ka lur pere avenait.

In the Middle-English version this passage is translated in a different way :

M.E., l. 290—91.

And to uchone sunderlyng  
He ȝaf a dole of his fulnesse,

Respecting the unhappy servant, the Cursor reads :

C., l. 9550—52.

pis ilk king, þat i of rede,  
A seruand had in his baili,  
þat gain his lauerd had don foli, etc.

Gr., l. 237—40.

Iceu rei dont jo vous di,  
Un serf ot kiert maubailli.  
Ki par un tres grant forfet,  
Ke ver son seignur ot fet: etc.

This fact is, of course, also mentioned by the M.E. translator :

M.E., l. 307—10.

pis king, as þou herdest ar pis,  
Hedde a þral þat dude amis,  
þat for his gult strong and gret,  
Wiþ his lord was so i-vet.

But the French lines are much closer to the Cursor.

C., l. 9557—58.

For he ne had neuer sa gret envie,  
Als pis man for to be baillie.

Gr., l. 245—46.

Kar dautre rien neurent envie  
Fors kavoir li en lur baillie.

The translation of these words in the M.E. poem is not so accurate :

l. 315—16.

þat of no þing heo nedden onde  
Bote hi to habben under honde.

Mercy begs for the prisoner :

C., l. 9593—94.  
I sal noght fine merci to cri  
Bituixand he haue þi merci."

Gr., l. 281—82.  
Pur lui merci crierai  
Tant ke merci troverai.

Our poet is always inclined to adopt French words, whilst the English translator, on the contrary, prefers old English expressions. Compare :

M.E., l. 355—56.  
þi milce for him I crie euer-more,  
And haue of him milce and ore."

C., l. 9597—99.  
And þat sco was alगत a-bute  
For to bij his prisun ute,  
Be-for þe king fote sco stode,

Gr., l. 285—87.  
E veut enfin le serf sauver  
E de prison deliverer,  
Devant le rei sest areste.

The M.E. poem enters more into the details :

l. 359—62.  
And wolde þis þral of prisū bringe,  
þat Riht hedde hi i-demet w'-outē ēdige ;  
Al heo chaunged hire mood,  
And bi-foren þe kyng heo stood.

C., l. 9601—2.  
Sli selcut haue i herd to-dai,  
þat i mai not forber to sai.

Gr., v. 289—90.  
Teu merveille ai oie  
Ne puis ke jo nel die.

M.E., l. 364—65.  
I ne may for-bere to telle hit þe  
Hou hit me þinkeþ a wonder þing.

C., l. 9621.  
Rightwisnes rais þan and said

Gr., l. 311.  
E justice a tant se leve  
Si dit.

The earlier M.E. translation takes three lines to express the same thought :

l. 395—97.  
Riht i-herde þis talkyng ;  
Anon heo stod bi-fore þe kyng.  
" þi douȝter," heo seiþ, etc.

C., l. 9645—46.  
Ilkman sco gis ai wit will,  
þair right to haue god and ill ;

Gr., l. 335—36.  
A chescun done par saveir  
Quankil doit par dreit aveir.

The manner of representing this thought in the M.E. version is somewhat different :

l. 421—22.  
þorw wisdom heo demep alle  
As wole to his gult bi-falle."

C., l. 9647—48.  
For sothfastnes has said his sake,  
And þar-of dom wil on him wrak,

Gr., l. 337—38.  
Verite de mal la tice  
E dampner le veut justice.

While in both works Truth alone demands the doom of the servant, in the M.E. version Truth is assisted by Right :—

M.E., l. 423—24.

Sop and Riht lo þus heo suggeþ,  
And þis þral to deþe juggeþ.

C., l. 9649—50.

Agh naman god him sai in werld,  
Sin þat pite es nu noght herd."

Gr., l. 339—40.

Ni ad nul que bien li die  
Puis ke pitie nest oie.

M.E., l. 425—26.

Neuer nouþer ne spekeþ hi good,  
Ne non [of hem] merci understood.

C., l. 9653—54.

Ne he mai scap, ga quar he ga,  
þat him ne sailles ai his fa,

Gr., l. 343—44.

Ne se peut garir ou kil aut  
Kel enemi nel assaut.

M.E., l. 429—30.

Ne helpeþ hi no þig wher-so he wende  
þat his fo fetteþ hi in uche ende,

Sometimes the poet deviates from his principle concerning a literal translation; passing over insignificant passages, he docks his tale, as l. 9681—86, containing the complaint of Peace at her sisters, which takes up more lines in the French poem [l. 371—86] and the M.E. version [l. 457—74].

C., l. 9695—96.

Sauf es i noght nu in þis werld  
Bot-if þat merci mai be herd.

Gr., l. 395—96.

Mes sauve ne su jo mie  
Se misericorde nest oie.

The M.E. version renders this same thought in another way :

M.E., l. 483—84.

Ak he ne louede [me] neuere to fere,  
þat Merci my suster nul not here.

C., l. 9697—706.

pou agh me here, wit-uten less,  
For fader es pou, and prince o pes.  
Pes endes al þat wel es wroght;  
Qua has na pes, he has als noght.  
Qua(t) es richness, qua can me sai,  
Quar wisdom, quar pes es awai?  
Qua wil for pes his trauaill spend,  
In pes for-soth þan sal he end.  
þan agh wel pes be herd for-þi,  
For þis prisun þat cries merci!

Gr., l. 397—406.

Mon dit doit porter grant fes,  
Kar tu es prince de pes.  
Peis est la fin de tuz biens;  
Ki peis ad, ne li faut riens.  
Ne sanz peis ne vaut aveir  
Ne richesce, ne saveir.  
Ki pur peis aver se travaille,  
En peis aura definaille.  
E pur co peis doit estre oie,  
Pur ceu serf ki merci crie.

The corresponding lines in the M.E. version, compared with these, show a complete transposition of some lines, viz. l. 503—11 :

Of uche goodschipe Pees is ende,  
Ne fayleþ no weole þer heo wol lende;

Ne wisdam nis not worþ an hawe,  
 þer Pees fayleþ to felawe;  
 And hose Pees loueþ wiþ-uten gabbe,  
 Pees wiþ-uten ende he schal habbe.  
 Mi word ouȝte ben of good reles,  
 For þou art Kyng and Prince of Pes,  
 "For-þi þou ouȝtest to here me, etc.

But I think these passages are sufficient, and I now confine myself to some very striking lines, *e. g.* :

C., l. 9749.  
 I sal cri pes in land, i-wis.

Gr., l. 453.  
 E peis en terre frai crier.

M.E. l. 551.  
 And maken I chulle Pees to londe come.

Transposition of single lines is to be met with in M.E., *e. g.* : Gr., l. 463—64 = C., 9759—60, corresponding to l. 561—62 in the M.E. version ; Gr., l. 509—18 = C., l. 9818—27 = M.E., l. 607—16 ; Gr., l. 535—36 = C., l. 9845—46.

Sli scap to se was na ferlik, Merueillus nient ja nomez,  
 Bot monstres moght man call þam like. Mes mustres soient apelez.

M.E., l. 633—34.  
 Ac hit is as hit mot nede ben,  
 Of un-mete kuynde a forschipte streon.

In what follows, the Parable treats of the prophecy of Isaiah : *Christ shall be called wonderful*. The poet explains how we are to understand this word. It is not to be misconceived ; for a child with three feet or hands, or any other misshaped creature, would not be called wonderful, but a monstium.

It is strange that both the M.E. version and the Cursor should have misconceived the original text in the following line 555 :

Kar en defaute nest pas fet.

The meaning of this line is without any doubt : Christ was not created in sin.

According to Weymouth, this preposition "en" was thought by the English poet to be the pronoun ; accordingly he translates l. 651—52 :

And wiþouten (synne he is) euere ;  
 For wone (thereof) dude ne neuere.

And the corresponding line in C. must have the same meaning : l. 9862 :

And all es fulli þat he wrought,

C., l. 9883—84 tell of the Castle of Love :

A-pon þe mathe it standes traist,	Gr., l. 575—76.
O fede ne dredes it na fraist;	En la marche est assis,
	Nad regard de ses ennemis.

M.E. renders these lines less accurately :

M.E., l. 671—72.  
In þe mere he stont bi-twene two,  
Ne haþ he ferlak for no fo ;

C., l. 9891—92.	Gr., l. 587—88.
Wit walles loken four a stan,	Enuirun ad quatre tureles,
pat fairer in þis werld es nan.	En tut le mund ni a sibeles.

The latter remark is totally wanting in the M.E. version at the corresponding passage :

M.E., l. 685—86.  
(Foure) smale toures (þer) beþ abouten  
To witen þe heiȝe tour wiþ-outen.

C., l. 9913.	Gr., l. 607.
O thre colurs o sun-dri heu,	De III colurs diversement

The superfluous remark of the two poems, that the three colours were different, is omitted in the M.E. version, l. 705 :

Wiþ þreo heowes þ' wel beþ sene ;

C., l. 9923—24.	Gr., l. 617—18.
þe thrid ouermast of all	La tierce colur par enson
pat þe kirkels ar paint wit-all,	Les karneaus covre environ.

The latter remark is again wanting in M.E. :

l. 715—16.  
þe þridde heuȝ an ouemast  
Ouer-wriȝeþ all and so is i-cast

In a similar way the influence of the French poem is to be seen :

C., l. 9925—26.	Gr., l. 621—22.
It castes lem ouer al sa bright,	Tant refflambeie environ,
pat reches to þe dunjon light,	Ke tut covere le dongon.

M.E., l. 717—18.  
pat wiþ-innen and wiþ-outen  
þe castel lihteþ al abouten,

Ll. 9929—32 are translated from Gr., l. 623—26 ; the M.E. version, l. 721—26, gives the lines in another order.

C., l. 9985, apparently misunderstands the French poem ; the meaning of the lower colour, the green, being explained by "*pat es end o pat mayden clene*." Grosset., on the contrary, says, l. 679 : "*c'est la foi de la virgine*." So we have in all English MSS. of C., l. 9989—90 :

For god ending of al and all,  
Of al vertus it es grund-wald.

Contrary to the original work, Gr., l. 683—84 :

Kar foi est apertement  
De tutes vertuz fundement.

On comparison, we find the M.E. version rightly expresses the idea of the original, that faith is the principal virtue.

l. 777.

[pat is] þe Maydenes bi-leue so riht,

And so—

M.E., l. 781—82.  
For bi-leue is apertement  
Of alle vertues foundement.

The prayer to Mary (C., l. 10095—10122), though not literally translated, yet derives its contents from Gr., l. 787—818. The M.E. version gives it too, l. 881—910.

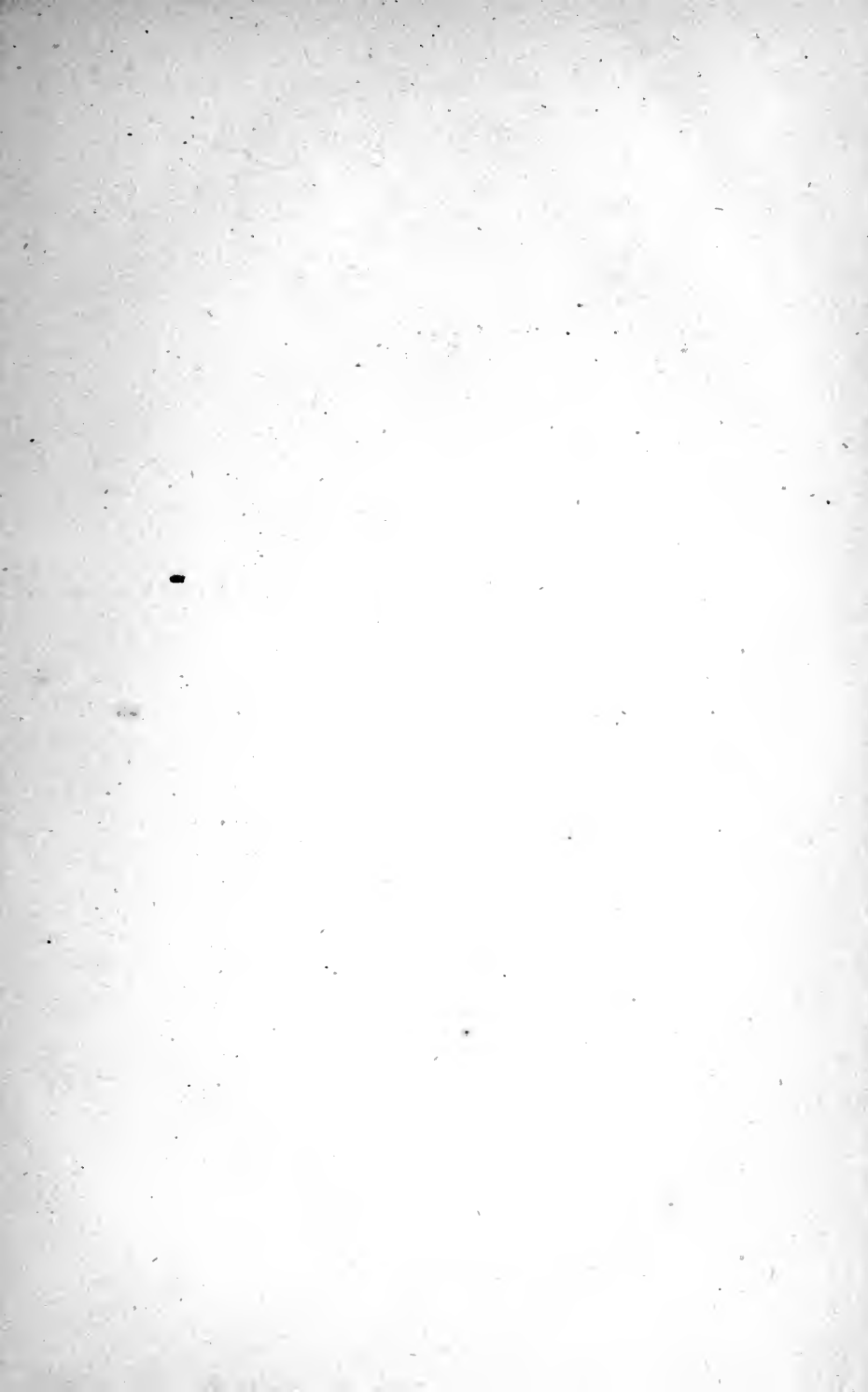
Our poet, now leaving his original, turns to his readers and says, l. 9765—9816, "You have now heard of the creation and Adam's fall, and that the angels could not ransom him. If angels had saved him, they would have become weaker and would have easily fallen, like Lucifer; neither patriarch nor prophet could ransom Adam; now, as no angel nor man could carry out the redemption, who was to do it?" As this passage is wanting in both poem and translation of Grossetete, I believe it to be an original addition of our poet.

After the prayer to Mary, Grossetete's *Chateau d'Amour* continues with a discourse between Jesus and Satan.

But the author of the Cursor, intending to glorify Mary and her family, leaves his source, and turns to the conception of the Virgin Mary, from l. 10123—11232.

L. 11233—372 treat of the birth of Christ, exactly following the Bible, Luke ii. 1—38.










# Lebenslauf.



Ich, Hugo Carl Wilhelm Haenisch, Sohn des Maschinenmeisters Carl Haenisch und dessen Ehefrau Johanna geb. Beckelmann, evangelischer Confession, bin am 24. Juni 1859 in Jackschenau bei Breslau geboren. Nach erhaltener Elementarbildung besuchte ich die Schule des Waisenhauses zu Bunzlau. Ostern 1873 trat ich in das Realgymnasium „am Zwinger“ zu Breslau ein, das ich Oktober 1878 mit dem Zeugniß der Reife verliess. Hierauf bezog ich die Universität zu Breslau, um mich dem Studium der Philosophie, speciell der neueren Sprachen zu widmen. Während meiner Studiensemester auf dieser Hochschule hörte ich die Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren und Docenten: Bobertag, Caro, Dilthey, Dove, Freymond, Gaspary, Gröber, Hillebrand, Kölbing, Neumann, Partsch, Reifferscheid, Roepell, Weber, Weinhold. An den Uebungen des romanischen und englischen Seminars unter Leitung der Herren Professoren DDr. Gröber, Gaspary, Kölbing beteiligte ich mich während meiner letzten Studiensemester als ordentliches Mitglied. Allen genannten Herren, insbesondere Herrn Professor Dr. Kölbing, der mir in lebenswürdiger Weise Rat und Anleitung in meinen Arbeiten gab, sowie auch Herrn Professor Dr. Gaspary fühle ich mich zu tiefem Danke verpflichtet.

An dieser Stelle nehme ich auch Gelegenheit, dem um die altenglische Sprachforschung hochverdienten Begründer der E. E. T. S., Herrn F. J. Furnivall in London, für seine lebenswürdige Bereitwilligkeit, diese Erstlingsarbeit in eine Publikation der Society aufzunehmen, desgleichen auch Herrn P. Z. Round in London für seine freundliche Unterstützung bei der Durchsicht der Druckbogen meinen ergebensten Dank auszusprechen.

Das Erscheinen vorliegender Arbeit in England dürfte auch die Abfassung derselben in englischer Sprache rechtfertigen.



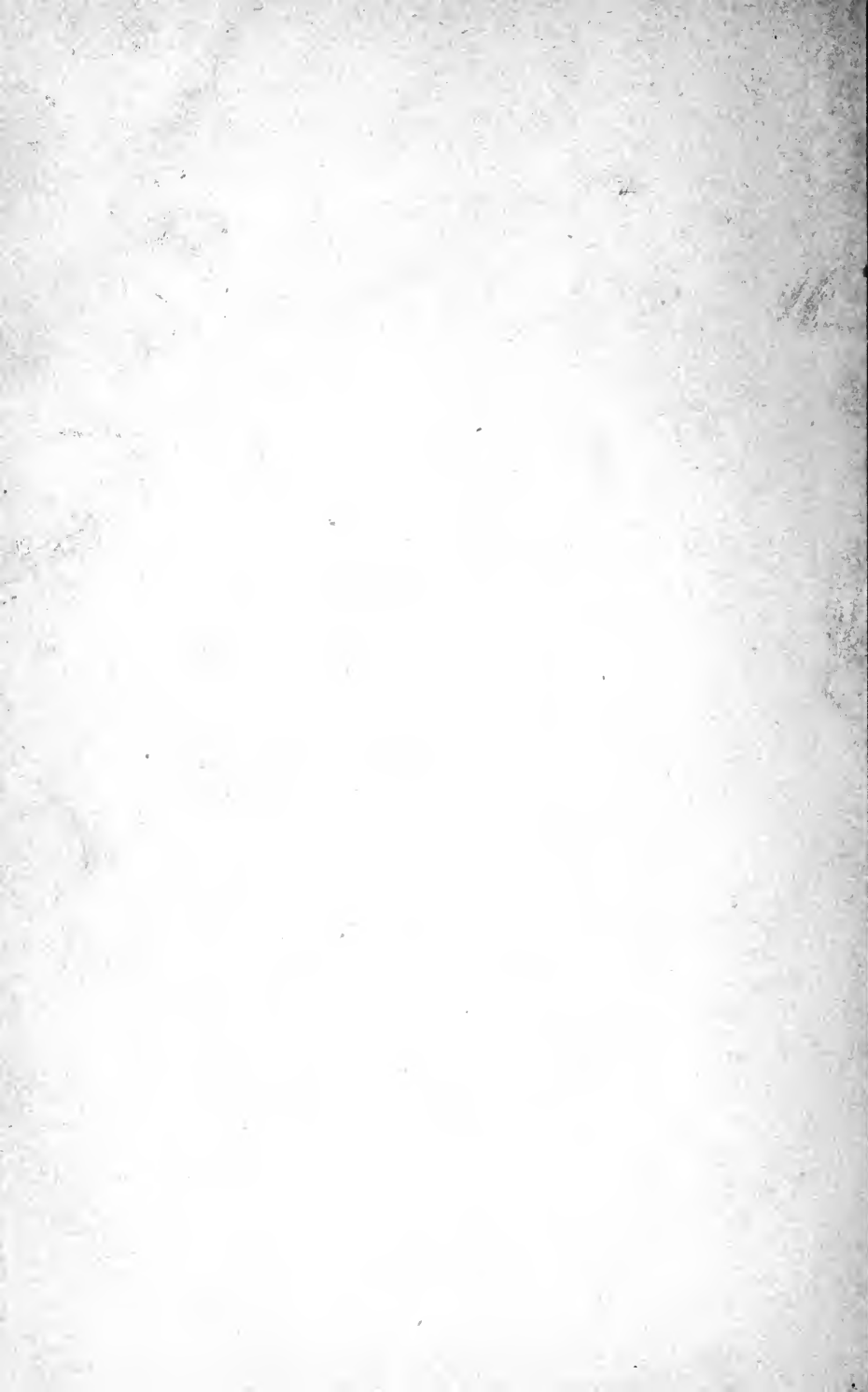
# Thesen.



1. Die bis jetzt aufgestellten Gesetze der anglonormannischen Metrik sind noch nicht gesichert genug, um die Textkritik beeinflussen zu dürfen.
2. Die 6. Strophe des geistlichen Liedes No. XV. in Böddeker's Sammlung „Altenglische Dichtungen“ ist als Schlussstrophe unhaltbar; sie ist vielmehr als 4. Strophe einzusetzen.
3. Der Abschnitt des Cursor Mundi von v. 10783—10816 und die Legende „Geburt Jesu“ in Horstmann's Ausgabe altenglischer Legenden (Paderborn 1875) stammen aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle.
4. Weymouth's Frage (Ausgabe des Castel of Love von Grosseteste p. 28): When did monster in this sense first become an English word? lässt sich dahin beantworten, dass die Anglisierung dieses Wortes im Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts geschah.









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